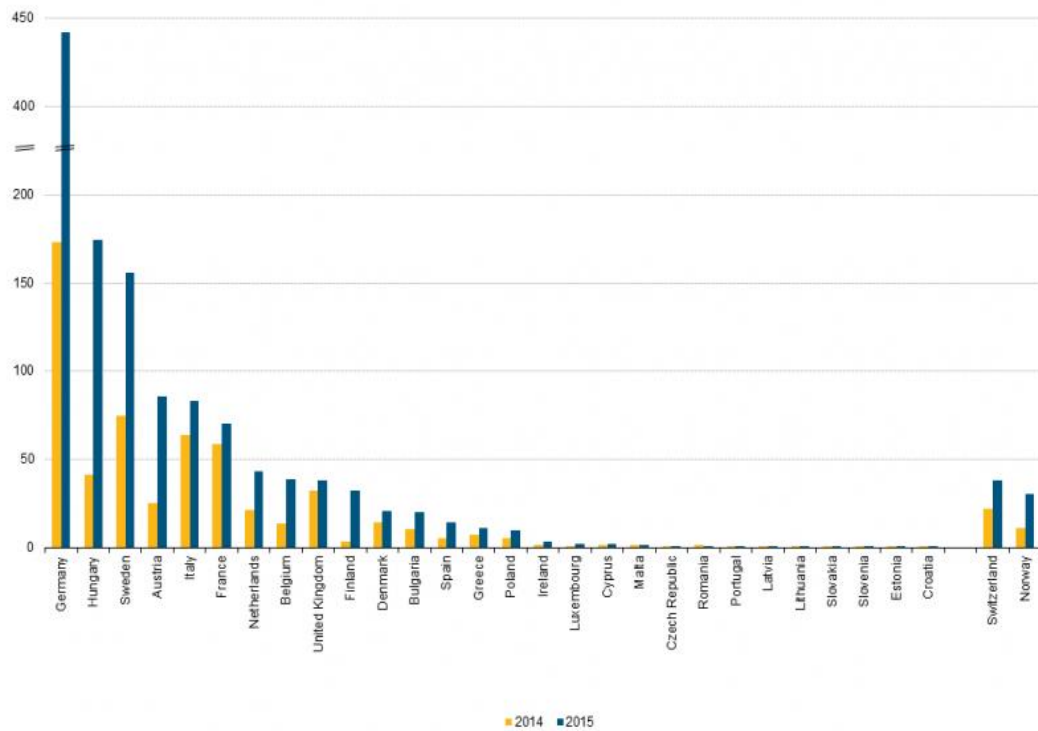


CHAPTER IV

GERMANY CONSIDERATION IN ACCEPTING REFUGEE

In the beginning of 2015 the number of refugee in Germany significantly increased. There were a lot of asylum applications that have been applied to Germany.



Source: Eurostat (online data code: migr_asyappctza)

Figure 6 Statistic Data of Asylum Seeker in EU and EFTA

According to Eurostat in 2014 Germany received 173.000 applicants and in 2015 the number were significantly higher 442.000 applicants (Eurostat, 2016). With the separated of Islamic State group terrorizing in Iraq and Syria,

the Syrian civil war that fired with no time end in sight, and the situation in Jordan that put the refugee in the worse position, and Lebanon, the poor situation in Middle East made a lot of people to flee to the European Union to register through asylum application. The arrival of asylum seekers challenged the European Union member states capacity to respond the crises but they have failed (Matthias Mayer, 2016).

Moreover, the inability of the EU to solve the refugee's crises created several member states to close their borders. Even Sweden, which took a lot of refugees compared to other member states, introduced their restriction policy toward the refugee and sealed their line (Matthias Mayer, 2016). In contrast, Germany was the only state left that kept its borders open, hence, the situation made Germany must take an action to solve the problem of refugees.

Besides, German chancellor Angela Merkel and the government have maintained the position even with the criticism from EU neighbors, German politicians, and several of German people. The huge number of refugees came to Germany made several changes in Germany. German government opened their borders to welcome the refugee (Matthias Mayer, 2016).

More than a million refugees came to Germany in the past year. They were from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, North Africa and the Balkans. The increasing number of refugees made German Chancellor who had so forcefully allowed refugees to come to her country (Matthias Mayer, 2016).

However, the German government provides a lot of facilities for the refugees. According to Federal Office of Migration and Refugee, asylum is a right that is protected by the Constitution in Germany. People, who are displaced from other parts of the world, running from violence, war and terror, are to find protection in Germany (Federal Office for Migration and Refugee).

There are several reasons why Germany treated refugees equal as the local citizen, whereas it creates problem in their internal level. The author would like to answer the question using three hypotheses and applied the decision making process by William. D. Coplin. On his book Coplin mentioned three determinants that affect the government to make their foreign policy. There are domestic politics, economic and military capacity, and the internal context.

A. Domestic Politics

In 2013 election in Germany, CDU/CSU won the election that they had 41,5% of the vote and followed by SPD with 25,7 % of the vote. Despite, winning the election, they were not gained the absolute voters. The condition made CDU/CSU building a new coalition with a new party that could fulfill the vote to reach the absolute vote (Carla Bleiker, 2013).

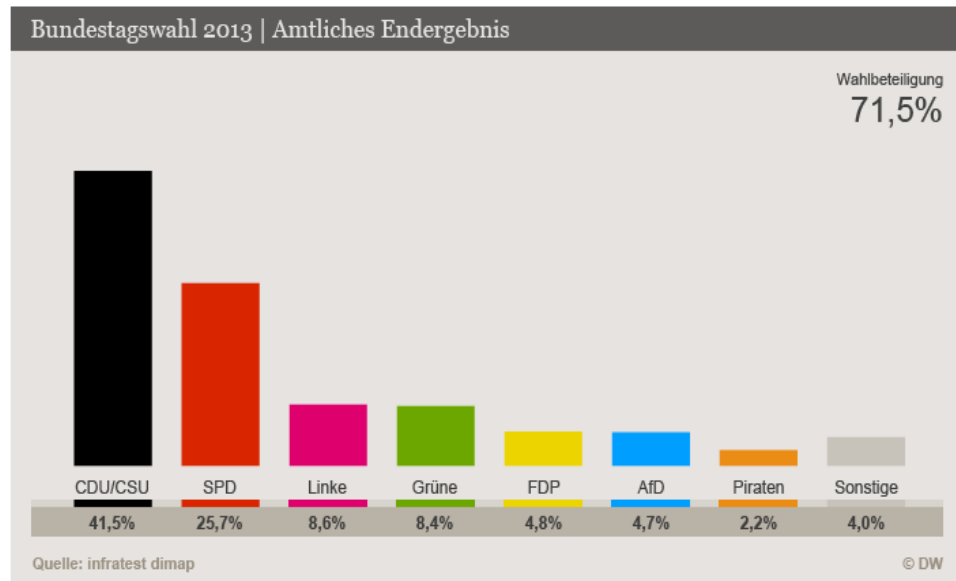


Figure 7 The Result of 2013 General Election in Germany

Source: <http://p.dw.com>

Next, the difficult time came when Angela Merkel needed finding the coalition partners. The previous election put the liberal FDP as Merkel's partner; however, Merkel could not join with the left party because they had nothing in common with the left party at the time. Next, the second option came to the Green party, namely called as black – green coalition. However, the coalition had already happen in the state level, but the coalition failed after two and half years in 2010. In the federal level, the CDU/CSU and the Greens had never worked together before in previous years (Carla Bleiker, 2013).

The third possibility was the grand coalition. A grand coalition is a government of the two strongest parties in the parliament, the CDU/CSU and SPD. The Social Democrat Party, with the chancellor candidate at the time Peer Steinbrueck, gained 25.7 % vote. Such a coalition was likely, since it had

already been done twice before at the federal level. Then the CDU/CSU made their third time coalitions in the federal level with the SPD (Carla Bleiker, 2013).

With the same concern of both parties that they were put refugees as one of the crucial issues that need soon to solve . Therefore, in September 2015 when Germany decided to welcome all refugees to stay in Germany. There were thousands of refugees who started to walk on Friday after being blocked in Hungary. They were heading towards Austria and, from there, to other EU countries, especially Germany (European Green Party, 2015).

However, when a million refugees came to Germany because of the open door policy by Angela Merkel as the chancellor of Germany, the open door policy of Merkel resulted pro and contra among the government itself, either the coalition party or the opposition party.

Furthermore, the open- door policy of Angela Merkel created the dilemma for her. It happened when her own alliance CSU brought her into a serious discussion about the amount of the refugees in Germany. Into the contemplative discussion between Horst Seehofer the chief of the Christian Social Union (CSU) and Angela Merkel, CSU wanted to limit the number of refugees that Germany took in while Merkel did not want. And the conflict was raging within Merkel's Christian Democratic (CDU) (Volker Wagene, 2015).

Although Angela Merkel is lost the support of her party and the alliance, which are CDU/CSU, the coalition party rooted her policy which was supporting the refugees within small of changing, for example, the Social

Democratic Party (SPD) purposed plan of increasing the protection given to the victims of war in Syria. Moreover, the SPD also wanted the young asylum seekers have enough for special protection during any training or education phase, as well as being allowed to stay in Germany afterwards (Richard Fuchs, 2015).

In the addition, the open-doors refugee's policy of Merkel became the platform for Angela for maintaining her relation with SPD in the grand coalition, even though, CDU/CSU became the opposition of her refugee's policy. As long as she kept maintaining the relation with the SPD, her policy would run smoothly in the parliament. In this cases, SPD has position as the policy influencer that impacted Angela to open Germany borders to all refugee as her responses through the crisis.

B. Economic Capacity

It is a well-known fact that Germany nowadays is a migration country. Approximately, there are more than 1, 3 million of refugees who stay and live there (PEW RESEARCH CENTER, 2016). The huge number of refugees in Germany brings not only a huge problem for Germany but also a miracle. Those refugees became the opportunity for Germany to grow their economy (Dettmer, 2015).



Figure 8 The German Labor Market

Source : <http://www.spiegel.de>

According to the data above, there were 589,000 unfilled positions in July 2015 and 37,100 unfilled apprenticeships in September 2014. There is one reason why the number of unfilled position and apprenticeships high in Germany.

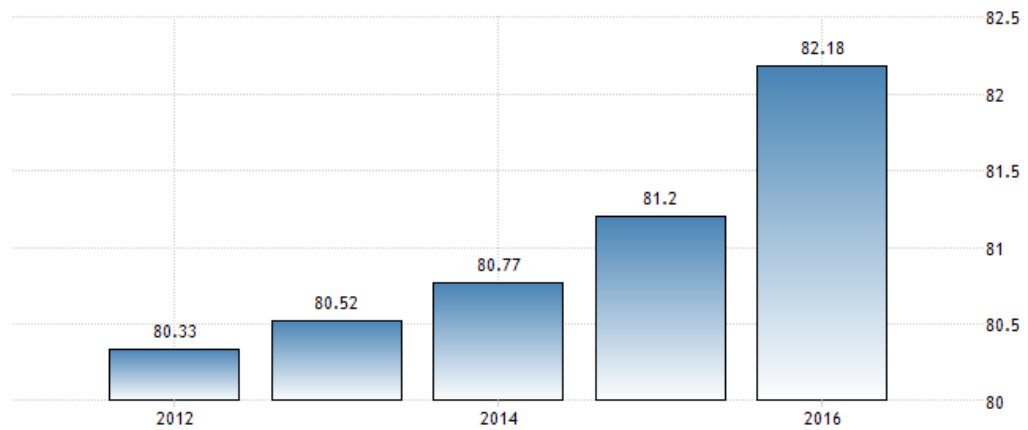


Figure 9 Germany Population Rate 2012 - 2016

Source: <http://www.tradingeconomics.com>

The data above showed that the population of German in 2014 was less than the population in 2015 until 2016 whereas in 2015 and 2016, there was the high number of influx of the refugee in Germany. As times went by, the influx of German's population increased. However, With the German population shrinking due to the retreat of German's birth, businesses were unable to fill many jobs and specialized workers were increasingly rare (Dettmer, 2015). That is why when refugees came to Germany, they had the opportunity to fill the jobs.

The high influx of refugees also provides opportunities for German economy. Despite the figure of almost 2, 8 million the community business needed a workers who could fulfill the unfilled position. The situation now, the German economy depended on the immigration whereas they came from Europe as well as people who entered the country due to asylum rights in Germany (Dettmer, 2015).

Due to the fact that the high number of refugees that came to Germany happened in 2015, Germany was in the position in 1990s. At the moment, the government did not pursued refugee to be involved in German labor market because at the time seem like the refugees would become more. In contrast, today's policies do the opposites; they encourage asylum seekers and refugees to participate in Germany's labor market, cite the need for early integration, require refugees' desire for self-sufficiency, and provide the high cost of prolonged government support (Dettmer, 2015).

Moreover, the German government used the refugees to build up their economy proved by several programs provided by the government.

1. Support for German for professional purposes funded by federal funds

According to the Act on the Acceleration of Asylum Procedures in 20 October 2015, the integrated German language courses for professional purposes were stated in the Residence Act. This programme aims to improve migrants' opportunities on the labour market by combining German lessons with professional training, employment, or active labour-market policies. It will be introduced by mid-2016 in addition to the ESFBAMF programme, which will run out at the end of 2017. The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees is responsible for the implementation of the programme (European Migration Network , 2016).

2. Object of Privileged Internships access Facilitated access

On 3 August 2015, the Federal Cabinet decided to amend section 32 of the Employment Ordinance which will give persons whose deportation has been suspended or who have filed an asylum application and hold a permission to stay in Germany to have easier access to certain internships which are not subject to minimum wage requirements and are related to their professional training or their studies.

The new provision applies to *“obligatory internships, internships with a length of up to three months which will help the interns to choose a professional training programme or course of study, internships integrated into a professional training programme or course of study with a length of up to three months and initial qualifications or preparatory measures to professional training”*. The amendments will enable persons whose deportation has been suspended to start such an internship right on their first day of residence.

These programs helped the refugee to adjust themselves to be ready in facing and involving in German employment. With the policies of German which support the refugees to have jobs in Germany, those policies aim to decrease the unemployment rate in Germany and increase the labor market which are devoping their economy.

Although Germany accepted the refugee to be involved in the workspace, there was a special circumstance. Wherein, they might put on the position as long as their access is non-preferential until 15 months, though, meaning they

can only be hired if the Federal Employment Agency gives permission which it generally only does if no Germans or EU citizens are available for the job (Victoria Rietig , 2016).

According to Institute for Employment Research of Germany, there were only 34,000 refugees who had found job over the past 12 months in December 2016, approximately 22% from the total of the refugees in Germany (The Local de, 2016). Even though there was only 22% of the refugees who had their job, at least they involved and helped the growth of the economy.

C. International Context

Germany has been European center power since 1871. Over the last decade, Germany has taken the leadership position in the EU's economic and monetary affairs. As times goes by, Berlin has also taken a greater role in foreign and security policy. It is shawn by President Joachim Gauck, foreign Minister Frank – Walter Steinmeier, and Defence Minister Ursula von der Leyen for a stronger Germany in foreign and security policy in recent years, Germany has overtaken the need to respond to crises and wars in and around Europe (Josef Janning and Almut Möller, 2016).

Moreover, Germany has played an important role in responding to European's three major foreign policy challenges in 2015, such as the conflict in Ukraine, the latest eruption of the euro in Greece, and the refugee crisis. Each of these crises has been shaped by the choices and the action of the German leaders.

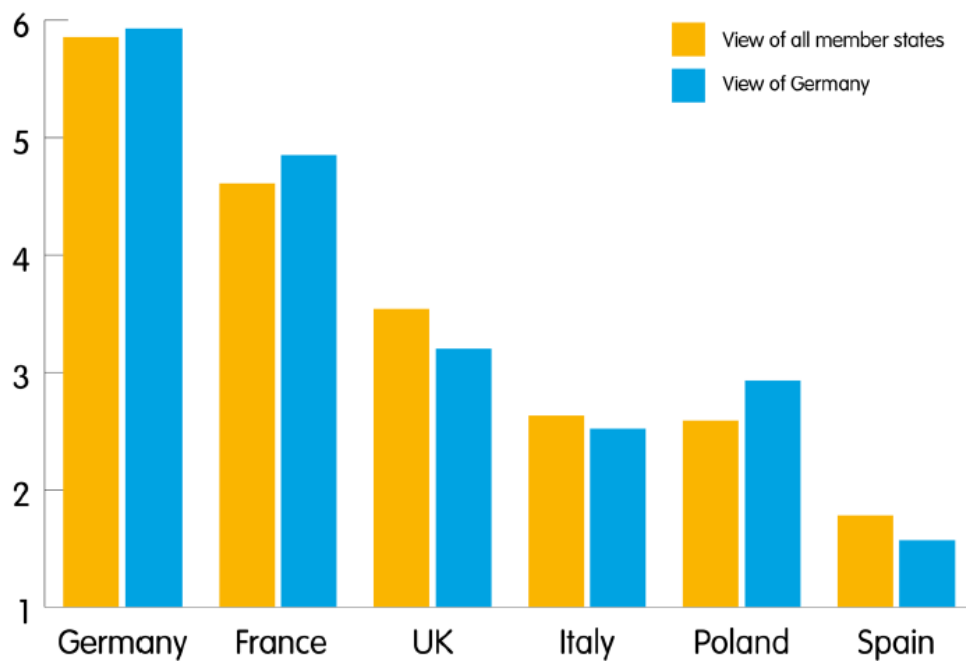


Figure 10 EU Policy (According to all member states, and according to Germany)

Source: www.efcr.eu

Furthermore, the data that are based on the results of the European Council on Foreign Relations' annual Scorecard which rank countries according to their influences on European's foreign policy, it showed that Germany is the top in both 2015 and 2016 (Josef Janning and Almut Möller, 2016).

Moreover, the responses of Germany toward the refugee crisis are proved by their actions and attitudes which are represented by opening their borders, not only disclosing the borders but also treating the refugees well. In addition, the good actions of Germany in helping the refugees are as the purpose to show their capability in leading the EU.

Furthermore, the behavior of Germany toward the refugees is influenced by the position of Germany in EU as the leader of the organization. Germany has been struggling to solve refugee crisis in Europe. They tend to use EU as the platform in resolving the problems. For instance, in March 2016 the government shifted its attention towards negotiating a solution with Turkey, the gateway for many of those arriving in to Europe from the Middle East. At the time, Germany negotiated a “one in, one out” deal with Ankara under the negotiation which Europe agreed to accommodate Syrians from Turkish camps in exchange for Turkey accepting Syrians who returned from Greece. The agreement was officially made on behalf of the EU, however, in reality the agreement was pursued by Angela Merkel (Josef Janning and Almut Möller, 2016).

On 14 March 2017, when the President of the United States Donald Trump met the Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel in the white house, she went to US under the name EU. Merkel gave a speech. In her speech Angela stated *“Germany’s ties with the United States of America are deeper than with any country outside of the European Union. Germany and America are bound by common values — democracy, freedom, and anti-discrimination”* (Meghan Kenelly, 2017).

On her statement, she clearly announced the leadership values of Germany as a free country which are supporting the democracy and anti-discrimination. Therefore, Germany accepted the refugees and treated them well to show other EU members and the entire world about the values of German leadership.

The values of the German leadership style are represented by the chancellor Angela Merkel. According to Christian Haacke a foreign policy researcher, Merkel's style of leadership is liberal. Angela quite believes in the values of freedom, human right, and democracy. The chancellor of the Germany has a preference for teamwork, transparency, dialogue, and discretion (Luke B. Wood, 2016).

Moreover, the value of the anti-discrimination has been applied in the Constitution Basic law of Germany. The basic law of Germany stated that the most important equality provision in German legislation is the constitutional principle of equal treatment.

(Article 3): No one must be treated in a disadvantaged or privileged manner due to his/her sex, descent, race, language, origin, faith or religious or political opinion or disability.

This article represents the constitutional guarantee of equal treatment in regards to the relationship between the state and its authorities on the one hand and its citizens on the other hand. The term "citizens" in this context is meant in a very broad sense, for instance, it encompasses German as well as non-German citizens (Mario Peucker, ND).

In addition, there is doubt that Germany's capacity to lead the EU is strong, and the data from ECFR survey support to claim that Germany has the specific capability to influence and lead the European member states. However, the values of the leadership of Germany will make member states to trust in the

ability of Germany as the *de facto* leader of the EU. Until the EU develops the capability as the stronger role on the world stage, Germany will struggle its best as much as ground as possible for the interest of all Europe. Germany will be a responsible, restrained, and reflective leader, guided in chief by its European instincts (Steinmeier, 2016).